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PAGE 01 STATE 078685

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E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PFOR, SP, NATO SUBJ: SPAIN AND NATO

REF: STATE 071092 (NOTAL)

DEPT PLEASE PASS SECDEF, USNMR SHAPE AND CINCEUR

1. REFTEL ADVISES THAT DEPARTMENT DOES NOT THINK CIRCUMSTANCES ARE NOW RIGHT FOR U.S. TO INITIATE BROAD EVALUATION OF SPAIN'S RELATIONSHIP TO NATO; RATHER DEPARTMENT BELIEVES IT IS PREFERABLE TO WAIT AND SEE IF PRIMIN ARIAS DELIVERS IN ANY MEANINGFUL MANNER ON HIS PROMISES TO LIBERALIZE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SYSTEM. ACCORDINGLY, MISSION RECOMMENDS THAT USG BEGIN NOW REPEAT NOW TO PLAN AND POSITION OURSELVES TO INSURE THAT CIRCUMSTANCES ARE RIGHT AT TIME WHEN U'S. MAY FIND IT USEFUL TO PUSH THE PSNISH CASE WITH OUR NATO ALLIES. SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 078685

2. SOME POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION IS SINE QUA NON FOR INDUCING CERTAIN ALLIES TO REASSESS NATO-SPAIN RELATIONSHIP. WHEN SUCH WELCOME INITIAL EVENTS BEGIN TO MANIFEST THEMSELVES IT IS UNLIKELY THEIR MAGNITUDE AND VISIBILITY WILL IN AND OF THEMSELVES INDUCE CERTAIN ALLIES TO REVERSE CURRENT POLICIES AND RECOMMEND THAT NATO EMBRACE SPAIN. IT SEEMS MUCH MORE LIKELY THAT LIBERALIZING EVENTS-WHICH ONE MIGHT DESCRIBE AS A DESIRABLE TREND NEEDING ENCOURAGEMENT-MIGHT AFFORD DOUBTFUL ALLIES FACE-SAVING EXCUSE WHICH WOULD PERMIT NATO TO ESTABLISH SOME LINKS WITH SPAIN ON BASIS OF PRAGMATIC SECURITY REPALITIES.

3. THEREFORE, RATHER THAN HOPING FOR

FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS TO UNFOLD, MISSION RECOMMENDS THAT:

A) THE U.S. SHOULD TAKE INVENTORY NOW OF WAYS IN WHICH SPAIN ALREADY
CONTRIBUTES TO EUROPEAN, MEDITERRANEAN AND ATLANTIC SECURITY; B) THE
U.S. HELP

SPAIN IDENTIFY ACTIONS LATTER COULD OFFER TO TAKE NOW OF A COORDINATION NATURE THAT COULD SIGNIFICANTLY AUGMENT ITS EXISTING SECURITY CONTRIBUTION; C) THE U.S. HELP SPAIN DESCRIBE SIMILAR FUTURE ACTIONS

MILITARILY ADVANTAGEOUS TO EUROPEAL ALLIES THAT SPAIN MIGHT PROPOSE AS "PRICE FOR A LINKAGE ARRANGEMENT WITH NATO; AND D) THE U.S. AND SPAIN WORK JOINTLY ON VARIOUS PROPOSALS FOR INITIAL MINIMAL LINKAGE BETWEEN SPAIN AND NATO AND BEGIN SPECIFICALLY TO PREPARE AND DOCUMENT THE CASE FOAVORING EACH PRO-

POSAL.

- 4. NO DOUBT U.S. AUTHORITIES COULD IN A LARGE MEASURE RESPOND NOW TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:
- -WHAT IS SPAIN ALREADY DOING MILITARILY THAT CONSTITUTES A CONCERETE CONTRIBUTION TOWARD EUROPEAN AND ATLANTIC SECURITY?
- -WHAT LINKS, HOWEVER TENUOUS, PRESENTLY EXIST BETWEEN SPANISH AND NATO REPEAT NATO MILITARY ACTIVITIES?
- -WHAT MILITARY LINKS ALREADY EXIST BILATERALLY BETWEEN SPAIN AND VARIOUS NATO ALLIES?
- -IS THERE ANY EXCHANGE AND LIAISON IN THE FIELD OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE?
- -ARE THERE EXISTING PRACTICES IN THE FIELD OF ARMAMENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND SALES CAMPAIGNS WHICH AMOUNT TO SOME FORM OF SPANISH LINKS TO NATO COUNTRIES?

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 078685

- -ARE THERE MILITARY PERSONNEL EXCHANGE AND TRAINING
 ARRANGEMENTS WHICH PROMOTE THE PROCESS OF MUTUAL EDUCATION AND
 PERHAPS DOCTRINAL STANDARDIZATION?
 -ARE THERE OTHER EXISTING RELATIONSHIPS WHICH MIGHT ADD TO
- THE LIST OF THINGS WE WILL ONE DAY WISH TO CONCENTRATE ATTENTION ON?
- 5. WITH THE ANSWERS IN HAND TO THE QUESTIONS IN THE PRECEDING

PARAGRAPH AS TO WHAT IS ALREADY BEING DONE, ONE CAN BEGIN TO IDENTIFY OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE SPANISH TO DO MORE SO AS TO BUTTRESS THE CASE FOR A CLOSER NATO RELATIONSHIP WITH SPAIN.

6. FROM OUR EXPERIENCE, USNATO WELL AWARE OF HOSTILITY OF CERTAIN ALLIES TO GOS. WE DO NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE PROBLEM PRESENTED BY DUTCH AND SCANDINAVIAN SELECTIVE INDIGNATION ABOUT LACK OF POLITICAL FREEDOM. NEVERTHELESS, WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS ON TIMING, WE BELIEVE AN INTELLECTUALLY ACTIVE RATHER THAN PASSIVE APPROACH SHOULD COMMENCE NOW IN PREPARATION FOR THE TIME WHEN IT IS APPROPRIATE OR NECESSARY TO MOVE DIPLOMATICALLY. MISSION WOULD APPRECIATE A BRIEFING ON INFORMATION ALONG THE LINES OF PARAS 3 AND 4 ABOVE THAT IS PRESENTLY AVAILABLE, AND BEING KEPT INFORMED AS ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IS DEVELOPED. RUMSFELD UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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